The Woman's Column.

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The Woman's Column.

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THE OPEN DOOR.

At the recent National Suffrage Convention at New Orleans, Miss Gail Laughlin made an address on "The Open Door." She said in part:

Suffrage is not the ultimate end, but it is the golden door of opportunity. Through the open door of suffrage, the mother may follow her child and still guard him after he passes across the threshold of home; and through it the protected women of the world may go out to bind up the wounds of those who have fallen in the battle of life. It is more simple, more dignified and more womanly for any woman to cast a vote herself than to run around asking every man whom she knows to vote the other way. The old-fashioned Chinese thought his wife was not beautiful unless she had little feet on which she could not walk. Some of the young Chinese are learning that it is pleasanter for a man to have a wife who can walk by his side. Formerly men thought it desirable that a woman's mind should be cramped. The modern man is beginning to find out that it is more satisfactory to have for a wife a woman whose mind can walk side by side with his.

A young physician had two patients, a carpenter and a blacksmith, both suffering from the same illness. He gave both the same medicine. The carpenter recovered and the blacksmith died; and the young physician thereupon entered on his tablets, "This medicine is good for carpenters, but bad for blacksmiths." No such distinction can be drawn. Liberty is as good for women as it is for men.

ANNA SHAW ANSWERS QUESTIONS.

The question box, conducted by Rev. Anna H. Shaw, proved so attractive a feature at the recent National Suffrage Convention that there were urgent requests for her to answer some questions every day.

One question was: "Is not the relation of men and women to the suffrage different, because the women are supported by the men?" Miss Shaw answered, "It is a fallacy to say that the men support the women. The men by their industry provide the raw material, and the women by their industry turn it into clothing and nourishment. When my father sent home a barrel of flour, my mother did not invite us eight youngsters up to that barrel of raw flour at mealtime, and say, 'Children, here is your dinner.' When he bought a bolt of cloth, she did not take that whole bolt of cloth and wind it around us, and say, 'Children, here are the clothes your father has sent you.' Those of you who have your clothes made, as I do, know that the making costs more than the cloth. The woman has always done her full share of supporting the family. In the South, under the old régime, she bore more than an equal part of the care, for the planter could hire an overseer for the plantation work, but his wife could not hire one for the work of the house."

One question was, "If women voted, how could they sit on juries?" Miss Shaw answered: "There are many ways in which women could sit on a jury that would make all their other standing up easy. Many women would be glad of a chance to sit on anything. There are women who stand up and wash six days in a week at 75 cents a day; some of them would like to take a vacation and sit on a jury at $1.50 a day. Also some women would like to sit on a jury on some of the sharks that live by corrupting boys and girls. It would be easier for a woman to sit on a jury and send to the penitentiary the man who is trying to mislead her boy, than to be always watching the boy."

Another question was, "Is it not a step toward aristocracy to ask for the ballot for women who pay taxes?" Miss Shaw answered: "Suffrage for women taxpayers is not a step toward aristocracy, but a step toward democracy, and away from the aristocracy of sex that we now have. By it we are dividing up the aristocracy, and bringing it nearer to democracy."

WOMEN AND WILD DUCKS.

Rev. Marie Jenney of Iowa spoke at the National Suffrage Convention on "Why Women Do Not Vote."

Miss Jenney said the reason women had not obtained the ballot was that they were not yet fully awakened to their political responsibilities. She illustrated women's latent and unconscious power by telling of a brood of wild ducks that had been hatched and brought up in a farm-yard. They walked about pecking and stepping timidly like the other fowls, and the farmer said to her: "Them ducks can fly—they can fly miles, and they don't know it. It just beats all to see how close they keep to their chicken-coops!" Later they began to fly up into the trees to roost, and the farmer said, "They are finding out what they can do." At last they all learned the full use of their wings. Women at present are in the stage of finding out what they can do.

One reason why women do not yet vote is the self-effacement of many women, and one is the kindness of many men. These are lovely traits, but these virtues may be misapplied. Women sometimes efface themselves to an extent that is bad for their men as well as for themselves, and men out of mistaken kindness sometimes try to shield their women from responsibilities that would be good for them.

Helen Keller has said that nothing can equal the horror of absolute dumbness, the lack of all power of expression, before a deaf-mute has been taught to converse. Women begin as dumb citizens. We are taught that it would be highly improper for us to speak, but that men will always be ready to speak for us. A time comes when we want to call their attention to some great wrong and the need of remedying it, and we make the most frantic gestures, but they are all looking the other way. Then we say, "If we cannot speak, we can write," and we sign a numerous petition; and the city fathers say, "Is this signed by voters? No? Then it is not worth looking at." Miles Standish got a friend to propose to Priscilla in his behalf, but the outcome showed he would have been wiser to speak for himself. The person who does not speak out, who has no voice, is always overlooked and forgotten. Women try very hard to be dumb citizens, and we stay dumb most of the time; but once in a while some tremendous issue comes along, and we speak.

INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The following report of the Committee on Industrial Problems Affecting Women and Children, prepared by Mrs. Clara B. Colby, chairman, was read at the National Suffrage Convention by Mrs. E. L. Saxon:

During the past year the effort has been to have State Associations devote a session to the consideration of the relation of the ballot to industrial problems. Their reports will show that some, at least, acted upon this suggestion, and were able to arrange a most vital and interesting presentation of the subject. To continue and extend such discussions seems to be the most practical work before the Committee. State presidents are asked to plan for such a feature of their annual program.

As a suffrage society, we cannot swerve from our direct purpose to consider any social wrong or take sides with any cause or class, unless to demonstrate the need of woman's ballot or to aid in securing it. To see if we are justified in such committee work, let us look at the matter from its most obvious points of view:

1. Are there industrial problems especially affecting women? This has been shown in previous reports, and by numberless writers and speakers who have made it plain that women are at an industrial disadvantage as women—non-voting members of the community. Every one will recall instances of discrimination against women by factories, business firms, municipalities and school boards. As recent facts in regard to government employment, I would cite the order by Postmaster-General Paine that a woman must give up her position if she marries. Nearly all the appointments in the departments obtained last year by women were as printers' assistants at a small salary. Not a woman has been selected by the Pension Office in six years. In 1902, 27 women were chosen as typewriters and stenographers, to 114 men. The Civil Service Commissioners are compelled by law to keep separate lists of the men and women who have passed examinations, and must certify to the appointing officers from either list, as specified by the heads of bureaus, so that it is quite possible for these to keep women out and fill the places with voters. Commissioner William Dudley Foulke not long ago called the attention of the chiefs of bureaus to the fact that, by taking from the men's list down to the lowest point of eligibility, while women who had passed with a rank of 90 and over were not chosen, the government was not getting the skilled labor to which it was entitled.

Under this phase of the question will naturally come in the consideration of the industrial rights of married women, who have no legal claim to any wages for their work, or to any share in the joint earnings of the family, and who, however long their hours of service, or however diversified their toil, are ranked by the census as "employed in no gainful labor."

2. Will the possession of the franchise by women be a possible remedy for injurious conditions, or a partial aid in working out these problems?

Theoretically, we have the reasoning by which social economists have always demonstrated the value of the vote to the working man. Practically, the fact that some States where women have become voters have immediately passed laws providing for equal pay without regard to sex, sufficiently answers this question. The continued defeat of child-labor protection laws in some of the Southern States, and the conditions of children working in the mines of Pennsylvania, as shown in testimony before the Coal Strike Commission, show the need of woman's help in shaping social economics, and her powerlessness without the ballot, in sharp contrast with the protective law of Colorado secured by Mrs. Harriet Wright when a member of the Colorado Legis lature.

3. How can we get hold of the wage-earning women in mass, and convince them that from their own selfish and personal stand-point, if from no other, they should join the ranks of those working for the ballot?

This is the most important practical question for us to consider, and on our finding a satisfactory answer to it depends our speedy success. Talented speakers from the ranks of wage earners have thrilled audiences with their impetuous oratory, but there has been no general rally of working women to secure the ballot for themselves. Something of this kind has been done in England, and a year ago a suffrage petition was sent to Parliament signed by 67,000 working women.

4. How can we stimulate, in women of wealth and opportunity, whose influence would be invaluable and whose support might give the movement the financial backing it needs, a consciousness of the solidarity of human interests, so they would see that from an impersonal, unselfish standpoint, if they have no personal need, they are under the most commanding obligation to add their strength to ours to make better conditions for working women?

We might despair of reaching either the overworked, underpaid, and unresponsive wage-earner, or the indifferent, irresponsible, and almost inaccessible woman of fortune, were it not that all along the social line we are linked by one common possession, our womanhood, which, when awakened, is the Divine Motherhood; and it is to this that we must appeal.

We must march forward with closed ranks, leaving no woman outside, however apparently separate by good or by bad fortune, by exaltation or by errors. Then only shall we win in this holiest warfare for liberty, the holiest that ever was waged.

Mrs. Susan S. Fessenden is the guest of Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker in Hartford, Conn. She reports Mrs. Hooker in good health, with enthusiasm unimpaired. Mrs. Fessenden is doing work connected with the petition for the ballot for taxpaying women. She spoke in the Connecticut House of Representatives on April 8. Mrs. Fessenden has also spoken in Manchester, Meriden, Willimantic, New London, Bridgeport, etc. She goes later to New Jersey.

MEMORIAL SERVICE.

A Memorial Service was held at the recent National Suffrage Convention in New Orleans for the prominent friends of equal rights who have died during the year. It was opened with prayer by Rev. Marie Jenney. Miss Kate M. Gordon sang "The Lord is my Shepherd."

Mrs. Catt made the opening address. She spoke first of Mrs. Esther Morris, and said in substance:

MRS. CATT'S ADDRESS.

"Mrs. Morris told me how she and her husband went to Wyoming in the early days, and how they were 'snowed in' in a little mountain town, where there was only one other woman, and she was ill, and Mrs. Morris nursed her. William Bright, the husband of the sick woman, was elected a member of the first Territorial Legislature of Wyoming. Mrs. Morris said to him, 'You have often asked how you could repay me for taking care of your wife. You offered to pay me in money, but I did not want your money. Now I have a favor to ask. I want you, when you go to the Legislature, to introduce a bill giving suffrage to women.' She converted him, and he did it. Mrs. Morris was poor and obscure, but we owe woman suffrage in Wyoming to her.

"Later, some men who were opposed to equal rights for women got Esther Morris appointed a justice of the peace, as a joke, expecting that she would resign; but she did not. Many cases were brought before her and decided by her. Sometimes an appeal was taken; but in every instance her decision was sustained by the higher court. Mrs. Morris lived to be a very old woman. Her son is now secretary of the Historical Association of Wyoming."

Mrs. Catt paid a tribute to Hon. Thomas B. Reed, "whom all suffragists ought to love," to Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer, and to Madam Sophia Levovna Friedland, the Russian delegate to the International Suffrage Conference held in Washington last year. Mrs. Catt also spoke of Dr. Hannah Longshore. She said that when Dr. Longshore began to practice in Philadelphia, the opposition to women physicians was so strong that the other doctors combined against her, and persuaded all the druggists to refuse to fill her prescriptions, so that she was obliged to compound and put up her own medicines. Dr. Longshore was the mother of Mrs. L. L. Blankenburg. "She gave Philadelphia its splendid president," said Mrs. Catt.

Mrs. Catt also paid a tender tribute to Mrs. Cornelia C. Hussey. She said: "There is no other person who has ever habitually sent contributions to the National American W. S. A. without being asked. Often and often she sent a hundred dollars, with a note saying, 'I have just sold a piece of land, and I want to give part of the proceeds to the suffrage cause.' In this I think she was unique."

MISS BLACKWELL'S ADDRESS.

Miss Blackwell paid a tribute to Mrs. Corneila C. Hussey. She said in part:

"During the civil war a millionaire enlisted as a private. He bore himself modestly, and few persons had any idea that he was a rich man. A time came when the Government was in such straits that it could not issue pay to the troops till long after it was due. A private soldier came one day to the tent of the commanding officer and said: 'I want to speak to you about the pay of such and such a regiment.' 'It is of no use,' said the officer, impatiently, 'twenty men have been here already to speak about their pay, but we cannot issue it, for we have no money.' 'It is not that,' said the private. 'I came to say that, if agreeable to you, I would advance the money to pay the regiment for this month.' And he did. Then all the other regiments expressed the wish that they had such a private in their ranks. Such a private was Mrs. Cornelia Collins Hussey in the army of reform. A quiet woman of Quaker blood, never seeking office or prominence, she came to the relief of our distressed officers on innumerable occasions. She once told me that there were many who could write and speak for equal suffrage, but that the Lord seemed to have given her only one talent, that of making money, and she meant to use that for the cause. She did so most generously.

"She was a friend to the host of overworked 'Little Mothers,' and gave them picnics in the pleasant park that she had laid out close to her home. She was interested not only in equal suffrage but in a multitude of good causes, especially social purity and opposition to the State regulation of vice. She was a great believer in preaching the gospel of reform through the printed page; and she and the daughter who was likeminded with her have sent out probably more equal suffrage literature than any other two women in the United States. She placed the *Woman's Journal* in a great number of college reading rooms, and sent it far and wide. During the 33 years that the paper has been published—and published always at a financial loss—she has been one of its most steadfast and generous friends. In the new country whither she has gone, I hope that she may have new opportunities to help on all good causes, as she would surely wish to do."

Mrs. Catt said that the palm of victory had come this year to Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Though she had gone, yet it was still the privilege of the Association to have with it her friend and co-worker, Miss Anthony, and she was sure she echoed the prayer of every woman's heart that this co-worker might still be here till the last woman is enfranchised.

MISS ANTHONY'S ADDRESS.

Miss Anthony was greeted with long-continued applause. She said that she and Mrs. Hussey and Mrs. Stanton had come back from Europe together on the same ship, and once, when walking the deck, Mrs. Hussey had said that God had given other gifts to other women, but she had only one, that of making money, and that as long as she lived she intended to give part of what she made to this cause of equal rights. "It was beautiful of her." Miss Anthony held in her hand the fourth volume of the History of Woman Suffrage. On the table lay the three previous volumes. Miss Anthony said that these books were Mrs. Stanton's monument. She read extracts from a number of Mrs. Stanton's speeches, and said in conclusion: "Mrs. Stanton and I have often talked about the future, and she always said, 'I want you to go first, so that I can give your eulogy.' She knew that I could not give hers. She was a word-artist. I am not. My affection for her was strong and enduring. I feel as if a part of my life were gone, since she went over the river. As I heard the prayer that opened this Convention, I was reminded of a prayer that Mrs. Stanton once made at table. We were both entertained in the same home, and the man of the house sat in the parlor talking eloquently to Mrs. Stanton, while his wife busied herself with household cares. After a while we went to dinner, and the woman came in with her face red from cooking. She looked tired and overworked. The man asked Mrs. Stanton to say grace, and she, bowing her head, said, 'Our Father, and Mother, too, have regard for the hands that have prepared this sumptuous meal.' Mrs. Stanton was always regardful of the women who worked in the kitchen while the men were talking in the parlor."

MISS SHAW'S ADDRESS.

Rev. Anna H. Shaw then gave an eloquent eulogy of Mrs. Stanton, to which only a full report from shorthand notes could do justice. Of Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony Miss Shaw said:

"Their main idea was the right of the individual soul to be free. Last year while travelling alone in the West Indies I often thought of Mrs. Stanton and of her paper on 'The Solitude of Self.' In every great emergency, the soul is driven back upon itself, and must rely upon its own powers; and because women must do it, Mrs. Stanton demanded for them the best education and the largest freedom. You never know whom God will choose and raise up to do his work; therefore all must have opportunity, and none must be debarred. Mrs. Stanton knew that women must have light, in order to see how to do God's work in the world. Then the cry was, 'Not too much light at once.' But Mrs. Stanton knew that the only eyes unable to bear the sunlight are diseased eyes, and that it is only diseased souls that cannot bear the light of truth. She held that the right to see or be blind, to hear or be deaf, belonged to each individual woman. She and our leader and Lucy Stone held up the standard of truth; and when they were urged to lower it in order to suit the ideas of the world, they answered, 'We will not lower our standard to the level of your world. Bring the world up to the standard!' Mrs. Stanton was an optimist of the optimists. I have often thought that I should like to live a hundred years hence and take part in the reform movements that will be going on then; but I shall always be thankful that I lived in the present age, and knew these women who never quailed in the face of danger.

"The side that I like best to think of in regard to Mrs. Stanton is her home life—her family affections and her friendships. I was once a guest for several days in the same house with Mrs. Stanton and other leaders. Mrs. Stanton was so vivacious, so fresh, so full of the joy of life that it was delightful to be with her. She was so witty that no one wanted to leave the room for a minute, for fear of losing something that Mrs. Stanton might say. I used to love to see her when she took a nap. Though so advanced in years, she would always awaken with a look of wonder and pleasure, like a child just looking out upon life. Someone spoke yesterday of putting a young woman on our official board that we might have more enthusiasm. Why, Susan B. Anthony has more than any of us! (Prolonged applause.) It may be well to put a young woman on the board for other reasons, but not for the sake of adding enthusiasm. Our greatest enthusiasts are over three score and ten.

"One reason why Mrs. Stanton asked for education for women was because some of the bad things that are said about us are true. Women are accused of emotionalism. It is true that they are apt to be emotional; but people should remember that self-control comes only with freedom. A woman who has been governed by a master has not had a chance to learn to govern herself. The power of self-government requires freedom for its development.

"I believe if Mrs. Stanton were here today she would have a message for these young and older people—a message of hope. She would bid you be strong, stand fast, and have faith in the goodness of the world and in the ultimate triumph of the truth."

WOMEN OF NEW ZEALAND.

At a recent meeting of the Woman Suffrage Society of the County of Philadelphia, Mr. D. Orren Hales of New Zealand gave an interesting and instructive address on conditions in New Zealand, especially in reference to woman suffrage. Mr. Hales, in reply to many questions asked by the members, explained at length the Factory Act, the Works to keep the Unemployed off the Streets, and the Old Age Pension Act. He said:

"All forebodings have been falsified, for, during the ten years that equal suffrage has been in force, we have had ample proof that woman is no more prone to reckless change than man, and, on the other hand, no more stubbornly conservative.

"So long ago as 1878, Sir William Fox, a former prime minister of our country, expressed his views of the coming female franchise in words the truth of which has been proved time and again since: 'Women are equal to men in their minds and influences, more than equal in influence upon our legislation, more than man's equal in those sentiments which are most influential in promoting the welfare of the country, less liable to be debarred from voting according to their real opinions. They have no cliques, no parties, no overdrawn bank accounts. If a woman sees a good object before her, she goes straight for it.'

"Our New Zealand reforms are due to a quickened sympathy for human nature, an active desire to see the weak and those who fall by the wayside succored and helped.

"Of course there are people who lay great stress upon mere Parliamentary speaking and debates, and who forget that reforms rest with the thinking people of the community, the expression of them being left to the politicians. Many of these say that our legislation is not impressed with any conspicuous female influence; but they forget that the influence of women is generally most active when it is least conspicuous. It is the silent, unseen influence of women that has created in our country more humanitarianism, and more regard for the poor and weak, than in any other country in the world.

"John Ruskin said that if the wealthy women of England could be stimulated to works of social reform they would have the most powerful civilizing influence it would be possible to find. We have no very wealthy women in New Zealand, but all through the history of our country this opinion of Ruskin's has been verified. We have found that if there is a wrong to be redressed, and that wrong is brought to the attention of a woman, and she is shown that she has the power to remedy it, the remedy is not far off."

FORMS OF BEQUEST.

The following forms of bequest may be used by persons wishing to leave money by will to the Suffrage Association:

FORM No. 1.

I hereby bequeath to —————— as Trustee, the sum of $—— to be used for the work of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, said Association incorporated in the City of Washington, and at this date having Headquarters in Warren, O.; the Trustee of this fund to use her (or his) judgment in regard to how the money should be used.

FORM No. 2.

I hereby bequeath to —————— as Trustee, the sum of $—— to be used for the work of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, said Association incorporated in the City of Washington, and at this date having Headquarters in Warren, O.

It is my desire that this money should be used to further the organization and campaign department (or literature department, or press department) of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Women in Australia lament the death of Dr. Clara Stone, the pioneer woman physician in that country. She was born in Tasmania, and early turned her attention to the study of anatomy. Her taste for science was inherited, as her father was all his life a student of biology. She finally decided to study medicine. The idea was unheard of at the time in Australia, and Miss Stone came to Philadelphia, where she studied at the Women's Medical College. She graduated at Toronto, in 1888. She then went to London and continued her studies, and started practice in Melbourne in 1890.

Increase of Membership.

[Recommendations from the Chairman of the Committee on Increase of Membership of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.]

These recommendations grow out of the conviction that in the progress of our cause the "argument of numbers" has become the one great requisite for our success; and therefore the increase of membership should be the leading object of local Suffrage Associations.

All of us who have helped in appeals for recognition of our demands, whether it be to Congress, Constitutional Conventions, Legislatures, or any other political bodies, have learned that politicians say they are ready to concede our claims as soon as we can prove that we have sufficient public opinion on our side to uphold them in so doing. Anti-suffragists also publicly base their chief opposition on the ground of the smallness of our numbers.

It is natural that opposition should centre around an objection which has no moral force; since, in a government founded upon the principles that ours is, the rightfulness of the claims of women to share in political freedom cannot but be admitted by loyal minds For we are not advocating any new doctrine; we only stand firmly on the grand principles of the Declaration of Independence of our forefathers. All we claim is that, in the evolution of society, the time has come to include women in their application. Even inculcating the principles upon which we stand does not rest upon us. They are rooted in the hearts of our people. If any deny their application to women, the burden of proof falls upon those who deny, not upon us who affirm them.

At the same time, by parity of reasoning, it does devolve upon us to show that public opinion is emerging from the unreadiness of the past, and that women are able and willing to assume the rights and duties of full citizenship. Hence, as practical people, it behooves us to meet the situation that confronts us by the very practical "argument of numbers." Even now, if we could marshal all our sympathizers, we would present a force before which opposition would yield. But only those who join our Association put themselves in a position to be counted on our side; and so far we have not enrolled more than one per cent. of the number at which a conservative estimate places our sympathizers. It seems necessary to revise our methods of organization, so as to focalize a vastly larger proportion of the sentiment which we know to be in our favor.

The chairman of this Committee advises that the requirements of membership in local Suffrage Associations shall be simplified, so as to throw no duties upon the individual who does not care to assume them, except those which cannot be delegated. All other necessary ones for maintaining organization should be performed by official members, with such aid from the others as may be given of free will. An analysis shows that there is but one duty that cannot be delegated to officers; and that is to "stand up and be counted" by subscribing to our principles and paying annual dues.

The chairman recommends, therefore:

That local clubs adopt this simple requirement as the sole obligation of unofficial members; with the understanding that, to spare the treasurer the feeling of importunity, the member agrees that the dues are to be asked for each year.

Also, That the duties of local officers shall be simplified. Where there is difficulty in maintaining frequent meetings, only one meeting annually, for the election of officers and the transaction of other business, shall be obligatory. The officers shall collect the dues; and all of them, especially the treasurer, should be strongly imbued with a sense of the dignity and importance of this duty, since, without a careful collection of dues, all the efforts of the club to increase the "argument of numbers" will be thwarted.

The officers should coöperate as far as possible with the plans of the State and National Associations. Of course, they may undertake any other meetings or work they may desire and consider feasible with the resources they have at hand; but they should direct their chief activity to increasing the membership. In doing this, or any other work, they may freely ask aid from unofficial members; taking care to be moderate in their expectations, and to use tact in asking what is likely to be congenial to the person asked; and also remembering that the member so asked is perfectly free to decline.

To promote mutual helpfulness between the State and local associations, it is recommended:

That State officers shall keep in touch with local clubs by quarterly or monthly letters, constantly inculcating that increasing membership is their most indispensable service.

That they shall maintain work for education and agitation by a vigorous use of the newspaper press, under the superintendeney of the National Press Committee; by a systematic distribution of literature; and by sending a speaker and organizer at least once a year, and as much oftener as practicable, throughout the State. In these efforts they should ask the coöperation of the officers of the local clubs, as far as practicable.

Experience has shown that in many small communities valuable clubs can be organized and kept alive by means of these simple requirements, which could not exist if greater demands were made.

At this time no suggestions are made whereby clubs can increase their numbers. In small communities, personal invitations to join from friend to frlend may be all that can advantageously be attempted. In larger places, where a greater number of workers can be enlisted, clubs can extend their efforts in many ways. This committee hopes to publish from time to time a series of suggestions and approved methods for the help of clubs desiring them. It is only urged that it should always be held clearly in mind that unofficial members may decline to do anything except to fulfill the one stipulated requiremement of membership, and yet be entirely loyal to the Association.

LAURA CLAY, *Chairman Committee on*
Lexington, Ky. *Increase of Membership of N. A. W. S.A.*

Headquarters Transferred.

In order to relieve Mrs. Catt of the burden of the office work during the year, the National Headquarters have been transferred to Warren, Ohio, the home of the Treasurer. Circumstances preventing Miss Gordon's return to New York this year, and her home being in the far South, it was not thought practicable to have the Headquarters follow her. The next working officer was the Treasurer, and, realizing the necessity of having the Headquarters of the Association in charge of an elected officer, it was voted to transfer them to the care of Mrs. Upton. The vote to make this change was unanimous in the Business Committee, and nearly unanimous in both the Executive Committee and the Convention. Warren has a population of about 12,000, is located midway between the cities of Cleveland and Pittsburg, has excellent railroad facilities, two daily newspapers and three weeklies, a Political Equality Club of 155 members, and is also the headquarters of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association. Mrs. Upton reluctantly assumed this new responsibility, and Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, who has been associated with her for eight years in the Treasurer's office, was made secretary in charge. Mrs. Upton asks for the support of all the workers everywhere, and in return she promises to do whatever lies in her power to further the interests of the cause and the Association, which are so dear to us all.

At the New Orleans Convention a delegate asked, "What is the value of a life membership in the National Association?" The reply was that life members are allowed the privilege of the floor at Conventions, receive the documents sent out by the Association, and that their names stand always on the roll, even after they have passed away. Through life-membership women who, because of professional or home duties, or for other reasons, are prevented from doing active work, can contribute the equivalent of work, and show their belief in the principles for which the National American Woman Suffrage Association stands.

A few weeks ago a high school teacher in the city of San Francisco, who knew nothing about the National Association, sought out the officers and wrote to Headquarters: "For years I have been a teacher in a high school, and drawing the same salary as the men in that and other San Francisco high schools who occupy corresponding positions. I feel that I owe this higher salary to the woman suffragists, indirectly, since but for their work all women would now be working for much smaller salaries and wages than we now are. The very least I should do is to give my mite toward supporting the national organization." While our Convention was in session in New Orleans, another letter came from this woman, enclosing $100 for life-membership for herself and for a friend, a professor of Psychology at Stanford University, who, she said, felt as she herself did, that "she owes her advantages of higher education and professional position to the pioneer woman suffragists, and is glad to be able to show her appreciation even in so slight a way." What a delightful contrast is this spirit to that of the many women who, though enjoying the fruits of the labors of the pioneer suffragists, never give a thought to their benefactors!

In this connection the women voters of Colorado have stood nobly by our Association. Enfranchisement and enlarged opportunities have not caused them to forget their sisters who are not yet their political equals. At New Orleans the Colorado women pledged life memberships for Ellis Meredith, the well-known writer (who, by the way, made her mother a life member at Washington last winter), for Miss Theodosia G. Ammons, professor of Domestic Science in the State Agricultural College at Ft.Collins, for Mrs. Susan Riley Ashley and for Mrs. Katharine G. Smith. Mrs. Katherine A. G. Patterson, wife of Senator Patterson, whose passing away within the year caused such profound grief among suffragists, is another Colorado woman who pledged a life membership last year. Her fee was paid by her husband, after her death, and her name will stand on our rolls, as she would have wished it to.

Many other life members were pledged. Mrs. Nellie S. Smith, of Somerville, Mass., made her daughter, Myrtle Smith, a life member. We are proud to welcome this young woman, who is about to graduate in medicine, to our ranks. Miss Eunice J. Simpson and Miss Susan A. Whiting, also of Massachusetts, made themselves life members. Miss Bertha Harwood, of Joliet, Ill., a newspaper woman whose duties take her here and there and everywhere, was glad of the opportunity to enroll herself as one of us because of her own interest and because her mother was an earnest advocate of equal suffrage.

The first letter addressed to "National Headquarters" at Warren was from Rev. Anna H. Shaw, our Vice-President, whose custom it is to spend her resting time in writing letters.

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, *Treasurer.*

The following books are for sale at National Headquarters, Warren, O., or will be sent post-paid on receipt of price:

For 25 cents each:
- Subjection of Women, by John Stuart Mill.
- Legal Status of Women, by Jessie J. Cassidy.
- Duties of Women, by Frances Power Cobbe.
- Speeches, Curtis and Beecher.
- Speeches on Rights of Women, by Wendell Phillips.
- Woman's Century Calender, by Carrie Chapman Catt.

For 15 cents each:
- Bullet and Ballot, by Carrie Chapman Catt.
- National Minutes, by Alice Stone Blackwell.

For 10 cents each:
- No Distinction of Sex in the Right to Vote, by Hon. John D. Long.
- Manual for Club.

For 5 cents each:
- Second and Third Year's Prospectuses.
- President's Annual Address, Carrie Chapman Catt.
- Question Books.

Perhaps, by Carrie Chapman Catt, $5.00 per 1,000, or 50 cents per 100, or 75 cents per 100, postage prepaid.

WOMAN'S PRIVILEGES.

Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, of Chicago, spoke on "Woman's Privileges" at the National Suffrage Convention in New Orleans. She said:

One of the great reasons why women do not secure the ballot is because there is rooted in the popular mind the notion that at present the laws in all respects are so favorable to women, and grant them such great privileges, that women would gain nothing more by the ballot, but instead might lose these privileges.

A careful investigation of laws relating to women's property, earnings, rights of action, eligibility to paying positions, dower, selection of family home, children, and many others where women's interests are involved, shows that these so-called privileges generally give women less than men enjoy in the same States, and that the ballot in women's hands would be the only assurance of true privilege.

Mrs. McCulloch reviewed the bad laws of different States, and in conclusion said that the laws of Louisiana, though derived from a different source than those in States inheriting the old English common law system, showed results much the same, and recognized masculine supremacy.

Some of the recent laws of Louisiana, such as the one of 1901 directing the employers of women to furnish seats for them and to allow them a half-hour for lunch, and the law of 1902 attempting to protect women from factory work lasting more than ten hours a day, evidenced a chivalrous desire to protect the womanhood of the State from severe and exhausting labor. But these law makers should have been aware that such laws in other States have been declared unconstitutional as "interfering with freedom of contract," and that, though they sounded well, they might not stand the test of the Supreme Court, if any employer cared to object.

Another apparent favor to women is allowing them to sue for, and own, as their separate property, the damages secured from a suit for injuries to their person or reputation. To be sure, husbands have the same right concerning injuries to themselves, and women in this particular are in no way elevated above men. This method of securing means of support is, however, only open to women in case they are so fortunate as to be injured in reputation or limb.

The community property seems also a step towards equality for wives. The law states that marriage superinduces, of right, partnership or community of acquets or gains, and all the produce of their reciprocal industry; but alas! the wife is the silent partner only, for the husband is the sole administrator of this community, or, as the law puts it, is "head and master." The wife may not even give of her dotal effects to the children of a former marriage, even with a judge's consent, if she does not reserve the enjoyment of these effects to her husband. He has the sole administration of the dowry she brings, and may use it for the family, or for any other expense he deems proper.

The only time when the partnership appears to be of value to the wife, and her right to one-half the community is recognized by law, is in case of the calamities of death and divorce. It is a pity the law should offer such financial inducements to wife to rid herself of her husband.

Even when a wife is separate in estate, she cannot alienate, mortgage, or acquire by gratuitous or unincumbered title, unless her husband gives his consent. She may not without her husband's consent appear in court to defend herself or her property, nor can she begin an action without his permission. He, on the contrary, need not consult her as to his appearance in court, and may even, without her consent or concurrence, cause a definitive partition of the movables falling to her through succession.

She may not, without his consent, make gifts *inter vivos*, but is allowed to make her will or testament, and, though the law does not mention this, it is well understood that she has the privilege of dying without his consent.

While there are several statements in the Louisiana law to give one the impression that the parents are equal in authority concerning their children, there are two decisive sentences which show plainly that the supreme power is in the husband. "In case of difference between the parents, the authority of the father prevails." This means that in matters on which they agree, she can have her way, but in matters where they differ, where she considers it vital and cares greatly, she must submit. The other sentence is this: "The father is administrator of the estate of his minor children."

In case of the death of both parents, the grandmother may have the care of her grandchild. In case of the death of the husband only, the wife may have the care of her own child, provided she does not remarry, and provided that a family meeting of the husband's relatives allow her to continue. It is needless to add that, in case of a wife's death, a husband would not be divested of the guardianship of his child upon remarriage, even were he a perfect Bluebeard.

But no other woman beside the mother or the grandmother is eligible to the tutorship of a child. All other women are debarred, with minors, idiots, infirm, and criminals—five classes in all.

This is, however, less of a practical wrong to the women thus unjustly discriminated against, than to helpless infancy, consigned to the care of men only. If nature teaches us anything concerning the care of children, it is that their care belongs to the women.

But this insulting classification of those ineligible as tutors is equalled by the list of those incompetent as witnesses to testaments: women, male children under sixteen, insane, deaf, dumb, blind, and criminals. Those most likely to be near the deathbed are the women friends and neighbors. Those whom all the history of the world has shown most ready and most faithful to minister to the physical and spiritual needs of the departing friend are thus branded by law as mentally incapable of attesting their friend's last testament.

Some special statutes which apparently favor women are the prohibitions against their arrest or imprisonment in a civil case and against their answering interrogatories unless the opponent makes oath as to their materiality. But these privileges are generally everywhere extended to both men and women, and in practice doubtless are here.

The right of resident women taxpayers to vote on propositions relating to taxation has brought the men of Louisiana many compliments for this chivalrous recognition of the justice due women; but this right will be of only limited value unless women have also the right to vote for the officers who administer the funds, and all other officers whose duties may affect these questions.

The maximum punishment for the abduction of a woman for prostitution or the brutal assault of a little girl between twelve and sixteen, even with her consent, is five years' imprisonment. This is the maximum, and the minimum may be one day.

However, this five-year punishment shows seemingly a desire to protect girlhood. But when we compare this punishment with that meted out to the person who burns cotton, which is from five to twenty years' imprisonment, we discover that the protection of cotton is four times more important than the protection of girls.

This State doubtless considers woman the home-maker, but it gives her no voice in the choice of a home, and should she not follow her husband when he deserts the home she prefers, she and not he is legally guilty of abandonment.

Marriage is a help to a man, but a handicap to a woman, under Louisiana law. A male minor by marriage becomes emancipated, so that he may even conduct suits concerning his wife's property. But an emancipated spinster, with full control over property, has her emancipation taken away by marriage, even with a minor. His marriage secures him emancipation, hers takes away even the little emancipation she has. It is like the kill or cure remedies.

The so-called privileges of women are largely imaginary; and, such as they are, may be speedily withdrawn by the voting class.

The ballot in woman's hand is the only assurance of justice and equality for women.

THE MONTANA CAMPAIGN.

At the National Suffrage Convention, Miss Gail Laughlin, who had just returned from Montana, gave an interesting account of the campaign there. Montana is the third State in the Union in size. It has an area of 144,000 square miles. When she began work there, a few months ago, the State was almost without organization along suffrage lines. But in Montana the labor unions are strong, and hold the balance of power. Their State Convention adopted strong resolutions in favor of equal suffrage, with only one dissenting vote. So did the Butte union. One-fourth of the population of the State is concentrated at Butte, and the union there is made up of delegates from 40 branches. Of twenty labor unions that Miss Laughlin addressed and asked to pass resolutions for suffrage, every one did so. Petitions were circulated, and 3,500 individual signatures secured. Much interest was aroused. There were constant requests for suffrage literature, from schools, women's clubs, etc. Public men had to range themselves on one side or the other. At a meeting of the Elks, where they were playing jokes on each other and imposing mock punishments, the president was fined $15 for refusing to declare his opinion on woman suffrage. At the legislative hearings there was not even standing room. The vote in the Lower House stood 41 in favor to 23 opposed, in the Senate 12 in favor to 13 opposed. Miss Laughlin said: "There was a great change in the whole attitude of the Legislature as time passed on. Most of the members took woman suffrage as a joke in the beginning and very seriously at the end; and I believe every one of those who voted 'No' felt a little uneasy for fear he had made a mistake." Miss Laughlin said that much of her route was over unbroken ground, and she often had to do everything herself, put up her own posters with a package of tacks and a jackknife, sweep out the room where the meeting was to be held, and ring the bell. She regards the outlook in Montana as hopeful.

Mrs. Winston Churchill, whose husband was among the signers of the invitation to Dr. Lyman Abbott to come to New Hampshire and speak against equal rights for women, believes in equal suffrage. So does Mrs. Judge Remick, whose husband also signed the invitation. Both these gentlemen attached the names of their wives, without their consent, to the published list of the committee that was to entertain the anti-suffrage speakers. Mrs. Churchill received Dr. and Mrs. Abbott with perfect courtesy, but took an early opportunity to tell them that she herself was a warm believer in equal suffrage. She also came to the platform at the suffrage meeting, and both she and Mrs. Remick took pains to make their position clear. Some of the men who think they can represent their wives do not hesitate to represent them directly contrary to their convictions.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe has just become a great grandmother. She can add this to the other causes for gladness mentioned in her published reminiscences. There, in enumerating the events in her history over which she has reason to rejoice, she says in conclusion: "Lastly and chiefly, I have had the honor of pleading for the slave when he was a slave, of helping to initiate the woman's movement in many States of the Union, and of standing with the illustrious champions of justice and freedom for woman suffrage, when to do so was a thankless office, involving public ridicule and private avoidance."

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